BACONIANA.

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THE CHARGES AGAINST LORD ST. ALBAN

MR. SPEDDING, in "Evenings with a Reviewer," writes:—

"I think that Bacon was guilty of corruption, that he had not the means of clearing himself, that the sentence pronounced against him, though severe, was not unjust, that his act moreover was not only in law indefensible, but in morals culpable, and more culpable in him than it would have been in any other man, that he had in short allowed himself to do that which he knew ought not to be done. To this extent he pleaded guilty, and I plead guilty for him and so much of Macaulay's reasoning as pretends to establish no more than this I will let pass unquestioned."

Yet with all his great ability, his life devotion to Francis Bacon and intense admiration of him, it is possible that Mr. Spedding, not being a lawyer, did not understand the true attitude of Lord St. Alban towards the accusations with which he was assailed.

The appointment of Bacon as Lord Keeper, dated 30th March, 1617, fixed the salary of the office, as accustomed, at £892 15s., with an allowance for wine and £16 for sealing wax (see Montagu).

On 7th May following he rode in state to Westminster, apparelled in a gown of purple satin, to open the Law Courts for the term. He was accompanied by a large and brilliant cortege.

Settling actively to work he cleared off all arrears of causes by the end of June. But the business of Chancery grew, and what with his advisory political work, his literary pursuits, and the large general business that fell to the Lord Chancellor for attention, he had "a load, would sink a navy." The decrees and orders during his second year totalled 9,181.

He does not appear to have attempted to stop the usage common to his predecessors and colleagues of accepting gifts from suitors. That it was a tolerated practice of the period even Lord Macaulay admits. How otherwise would Sir John Montagu have paid Buckingham, the Prime Minister, £20,000 for the position of Lord Chief Justice, the legal salary of which was £224 19s.? Payments to secure Court, Ministerial, and Legal favours, were common. The money gifts to Queen Elizabeth every New Year are chronicled in the public accounts. King James I., according to the diary of Judge Whitelock, was not above accepting £4,000 from Yelverton on the latter becoming Solicitor-General. "Men's acts," says Bacon, "are after as they have been accustomed."

The Lord Chancellor continued in office until March, 1621—a period of four years. In February of that year a Parliament was summoned, and to the House of Commons were elected many members who represented a deep-seated discontent with the Government.

That the House of Commons' complaint of many public abuses should have been adroitly diverted by Coke (then a private member) into a special attack upon the Lord Chancellor was to have been expected. They were old rivals in love and public affairs. Bacon held

the office to which Coke had aspired. Coke married the lady both had courted in 1597. The marriage proved unhappy and the parties separated. In 1620 Bacon had actively championed Lady Coke in a struggle with her husband for the control of their only daughter, and was able to write to King James, "I can prevail more with the mother than any other man."

Starting with the complaints on 15th March by two suitors that, having respectivelypaid the Lord Chancellor £100 and £400 through the hands and on the advice of their Counsel (eminent courtiers and Members of Parliament) judgments were *not* given in their favour, Bacon soon found, to use the words of Mr. Spedding, that he had to encounter "a raging House of Commons with Coke at their head." The hue and cry once raised developed into an indecorous race. Committee appointed 15th March (Stephens) reported to the House the same day. Reported again 17th March. Accusation drawn up 19th March. Same date Lord St. Alban wrote asking opportunity to answer. Then an adjournment for Easter until 19th April. By that date the personal accusations had grown to twenty-seven. Bacon saw there was no chance of a fair trial. To his man Bushell he confided, "I see my approaching ruin; there is no hope of mercy in a multitude." To another servant, who said it was time to look about him, he replied, "I do not look about me, but above me."

Now that the storm was upon him *he decided to bend before it.* Writing on 20th April to the House of Lords he chose to make one only justification, that of Job, "I have not hid my sins as did Adam nor concealed my faults in my bosom." "It resteth, therefore, that without fig-leaves I do ingenuously confess and acknowledge that, having understood the particulars of the charge, not formally from the House but enough to inform my conscience and my memory, I find matter

sufficient and full both to move me to desert my defence and to move your Lordships to condemn and censure me."

Being required by the Lords to deal severally and particularly with the charges against him he complied in writing on 25th April. It is noticeable how careful he is twice to put in a general plea of guilty to corruption. Yet his particular answers to the twenty-seven charges personal to him only accord with his previous and subsequent assertions that he had never entered into a corrupt bargain to pervert justice, and that he had always decided the suits before him upon their merits—and their merits alone. Bacon was a greater man than his accusers, greater than his judges. He knew that they intended to convict and overthrow him, right or wrong. *His only safety lay in making a complete oblation and submission.* Opposition would have cost him his life—a life ended before his great plans for the amelioration of his nation and human kind generally had been completed.

Hence his consummate care to enter the general pleas of guilt which his particular answers did not bear out. Indeed, the charges when dealt with in detail do not stand examination. Before a commission of judges of the present day they would fall to pieces. Three persons only came forward to formulate charges. The rest were trumped up on the enumeration of a clerk whom the Chancellor had discharged for misconduct. One of the "offences" proved to be the acceptance of an agreed fee for conducting an important commercial negotiation. Three others were borrowings from persons who had been suitors. Two concerned gifts never accepted. Three proved to have been the receipt of arbitration fees on public company arbitrations ordered by the King. Thirteen others were the receipt of gifts after—mostly long after—suit ended. Two were the acceptance of gifts

pending suit, strictly so-called, though virtually ended; another was a New Year's present. So much for twenty-five of the charges. The only two cases of importance which remain were Aubrey's accusation of his accepting £100 pending suit, and Lady Wharton's as to his acceptance of £300 from her pending suit. The former's charge had originally raised the whole outcry, yet in both cases the money was handed over openly before witnesses, and in the former with the concurrence of persons of high social standing. These simple litigants thought that their gifts would purchase decisions in their favour and were enraged to find they were mistaken!

Bacon pleaded guilty to corruption. That was not his true offence. The gifts were indeed very useful to him. He was living a life of grandeur at York House, the centre of great activities. Courtiers, explorers, merchants, and literary men were in constant communication with him. The Thames watermen were busy with the many visitors who had to be conveyed to the Water Gate of York House. All this meant money, and his ordinary means were scanty. He manifestly availed himself against his better judgment of the doubtful sources of revenue then current. He may have thought the end justified the means. Nevertheless, he could not charge himself (to use his own words) with "the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart in a depraved habit of *taking rewards to pervert justice*, however I may be frail and partake of the abuses of the times."

Lord St. Alban knew himself to be a just judge. Not one of his thousands of judgments, decrees and orders, was ever appealed from or set aside. But he saw plainly that he was to be offered up as the scapegoat for the bad practice of men of his day in accepting fees and gifts to supplement their scanty pay. The practices, however harmless where a strong

and just judge was concerned, were to his knowledge inexcusable *per se*, and while submitting as a matter of prudence to be convicted of offences of which he was not guilty, it is clear he was satisfied that his conduct could not be freed from serious blame.

Writing in May to Buckingham, the Prime Minister, who, during Bacon's Chancellorship, had pestered him with letters advocating the suits of his various friends, he said, "And howsoever I acknowledge the sentence just, and for reformation sake fit, (I was) the justest Chancellor that hath been in the five changes since Sir Nicholas Bacon's time.

In a cipher memorandum in the handwriting of his secretary, found long after his death, Bacon sums up the matter thus :—

"I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years. But it was the justest censure in Parliament that was these two thousand years."

His mental sufferings were grievously acute. He recorded them in his plays. Listen, for instance, to the piteous lines from "*Henry VIII.*," first printed in the folio of 1623—

"My high blown pride at length broke under me,
And now has left me, weary and old with service,
To the mercy of a rough wind that must for ever hide me."

Listen again to the lines of that beautiful verse in "*As You Like It*," also first printed in the 1623 folio—

"Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
Thou art not so unkind
As man's ingratitude ;
Thy tooth is not so keen,
Because thou art not seen,
Although thy breath be rude."

From his essay of "*Great Place*" it is apparent he

had long ago noticed the mischief caused by gifts. One of his suggested remedies was "to binde the hands of suitors also from offering."

In the same essay of "*Great Place*" he says, "The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall or an eclipse." There are, happily, signs which point to the passing of the long eclipse and the restoration of this most distinguished man to the good fame on which he laid so much store.

The rough wind will not for ever hide him. Macaulay's false judgment is beginning to be found out by others besides Mr. Spedding. The late Lord Acton was satisfied that he was "grossly, basely unfair" (Letter to Miss Gladstone). From another source (Vol. II., page 96, Autobiography of Moncure Conway) we learn that the fell slander uttered by the other detractor, Pope, in his line, "the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind," was held by Thomas Carlyle to be worthless, in-as-much as the qualities and defects named were impossible in the same individual. Lord St. Alban was "frail and partook of the abuses of the times," but he was not corrupt.

How he must have loved that particular year (1617) when he was, during King James' absence in Scotland, the *de facto* ruler of England!

> "But there is that within my spirit saith
> That I was formed to govern other men
> Wisely and boldly, as befitteth kings."

In his adversity we learn that his "fear went with his greatness." He had at last the consolation of a peaceful and contented mind and enjoyed the remainder of his days in happy and congenial work.

This trait of his character (though to me a natural one) inspired Mr. Spedding to write the fine appreciation of Lord St. Alban, with which I conclude :—

"Had he not fallen, or had he fallen upon a future less desolate in its outward conditions, I should never have known how great and how invincible a thing intrinsic goodness really is."

PARKER WOODWARD.

LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE "MANES VERULAMIANI"

No. I.

I HAVE undertaken to supply a literal translation with notes of the poems known as *Manes Verulamiani*—The Verulamian Shades. This is the title prefixed to them in Blackbourne's edition of Bacon's Works (London, 1730). Dr. Cantor published a reprint of them at Halle, in 1897, taken from the "Harleian Miscellany," Vol. X., p. 287, "a collection of scarce, curious, and entertaining pamphlets," among which these form "a tract of very rare occurrence, consisting of seventeen leaves." This in its turn was a reprint of the original pamphlet printed in 1626—the year of Bacon's death—by John Haviland. I have followed the Latin text therein given. There are several obscurities in the text. Scholars will differ as to their interpretation. The poems nevertheless are full proof that a large number of contemporaneous scholars, fellows of the Universities and members of the Inns of Court, knew Bacon to be a supreme poet. In the fourth poem he gets credit for uniting philosophy to the drama, for restoring philosophy through comedy and tragedy. Other equally amazing titles to literary fame are also lavished on him in many places throughout the series.

In this attempt of mine at translating and elucidating these extraordinary elegies I am deeply indebted to the articles contributed by Mrs. Pott chiefly, but also by Dr. Cantor and others to BACONIANA (1896—98). Indeed, but for these articles, I never would have taken up the subject. I am also under great obligations to Mr. W. Theobald for revising my version and even placing at my service his own. There is plenty of room for difference of opinion here and there, but, on the whole, there can be no doubt of the general drift and extreme value of these pieces connected with the Bacon-Shakespeare question.

I ought also to mention that through the kindness of Mr. G. Stronach I have been able to profit by the translation of these poems by Mr. E. K. Rand, of Harvard University, printed by him for private circulation, Boston, 1904. As this translation is not generally available, it has been thought advisable to proceed with the present version, which was begun under the impression that no complete and literal translation had been yet published.

MEMORIÆ
HONORATISSIMI DOMINI
FRANCISCI
BARONIS DE VERULAMIO
VICE-COMITIS SANCTI ALBANI
SACRUM

LONDINI
IN OFFICINA JOANNIS HAVILAND.
MDCXXVI.

LECTORI S.

Quod præcipuum sibi duxit honoratissimus Dominus meus Vice-Comes Sancti Albani, academiis et viris literatioribus ut cordi esset, id (credo) obtinuit; quandoquidem insignia hæc amoris et mæstitiæ monumenta indicant, quantum amissio ejus eorundum cordi doleat. Neque vero parca manu symbolum hoc conjecerunt in eum musæ; (plurimos enim, eosque optimos versus apud me contineo); sed quia ipse mole non delectabatur, molem haud magnam extrusi. Satis etiam sit, ista veluti fundamenta præsentis sæculi nomine jecisse; fabricam (puto) hanc exornabit et amplificabit unumquodque sæculum; cuinam autem sæculo ultimam manum imponere datum sit, id Deo tantum et fatis manifestum.

G. RAWLEY, S.T.D.

I.

DEPLORATIO OBITUS OMNIA DOCTISSIMI ET CLARISSIMI VIRI D. FRANCISCI BACON S. ALBANENSIS.

Albani plorate lares, tuque optime martyr,
Fata Verulamii non temeranda senis.

SACRED

To the Memory of

The Right Honourable Lord,

Francis Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans.

London:

At the Press of John Haviland.

1626.

To the Reader Greeting.

What my Lord the Right Honourable Viscount St. Albans valued most, that he should be dear to seats of learning and to men of letters, that (I believe) he has secured; since these tokens of love and memorials of sorrow prove how much his loss grieves their heart. And indeed with no stinted hand have the Muses bestowed on him this emblem; (for very many poems, and the best too, I withhold from publication); but since he himself delighted not in quantity, no great quantity have I put forth. Moreover, let it suffice to have laid, as it were, these foundations in the name of the present age; this fabric (I think) every age will embellish and enlarge; but to what age it is given to put the last touch, that is known to God only and the fates.

W. Rawley, S.T.D.

I

Lament for the Death of the all-learned and renowned Man Lord Francis Bacon of St. Albans.

Bewail ye guardian spirits of St. Albans, and thou most holy martyr, the death not to be profaned of the

Optime martyr et in veteres i tu quoque luctus,
Cui nil post dirum tristius amphibalum. (1)

2.

Baconi Opera Literaria Vocantur ad Rogum.

Instauratio magna; dicta acute (2);
Augmentum geminum scientiarum,
Et scriptum patrie et dein Latine
Auctu multiplici, profunda vitæ
Mortisque historia, ut lita anne lota
Rivo nectaris Atticive mellis!
Henricus neque Septimus tacetor;
Et quidquid venerum politiorum, et
Si quid præterii inscius libellum
Quos magni peperit vigor Baconi.
Plus novum ɶdecumata musa musis,
Omnes funebribus subite flammis,
Et lucem date liquidam parenti;
Non sunt sæcula digna quæ fruantur
Vobis, ah Domino (ah nefas) perempto.

S. Collins, R.C.P.

3.

In Obitum incomparabilis Francisci Vicecomitis Sancti Albani, Baronis Verulamii.

Dum longi lentique gemis sub pondere morbi
Atque hæret dubio tabida vita pede;
Quid voluit prudens fatum jam sentio tandem:
Constat, Aprile uno te potuisse mori:
Ut flos hinc lacrymis, illinc Philomela querelis
Deducant linguæ funera sola tuæ.

Georgius Herbert.

ancient of Verulam. Holy Martyr, do thou also betake thyself even to the old wailings, thou to whom nothing is sadder since the fateful (change of) raiment. (1)

2.

THE LITERARY WORKS OF BACON ARE SUMMONED TO THE PYRE.

The Great Instauration; stimulating aphorisms (2); the twofold Advancement of the Sciences, written both in English and then in Latin with manifold increase; the profound History of Life and Death, how suffused with (or is it bathed in?) a stream of nectar or Attic honey! Neither let Henry the Seventh be passed over in silence; and whatever there is of more refined beauties, and any smaller works I may have omitted in my ignorance, which the power of great Bacon brought forth, a muse more rare than the nine muses, all enter ye the funeral fires, and give bright light to your Sire. The ages are not worthy to enjoy you, now alas! that your Lord, oh shocking! has perished.

S. COLLINS, R.C.P.

3.

ON THE DEATH OF THE PEERLESS FRANCIS, VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS, BARON VERULAM.

While you groan under the weight of a long and slow disease, and languishing life holds on with lingering step, what foreseeing fate had in view, I now at length perceive. It is evident that in April alone you could have died: in order that on the one hand the tearful flower and on the other the nightingale might celebrate the only obsequies of your tongue.

 GEORGE HERBERT.

4.

In Obitum honoratissimi Viri ac Domini, D. Francisci de Verulamio, Vicecomitis Sancti Albani, nuperi Angliæ Cancellarii.

Adhuc suberbis insolente purpura
Feretri rapinis inclytos in tot viros
Sterile tribunal? (3) cilicio dicas diem,
Saccumquæ totam facito luxuriem fori.
A Themide (4) libra nec geratur pensilis,
Sed urna, prægravis urna Verulamii.
Expendat. Eheu! Ephorus haud lancem premit,
Sed Areopagus (5); nec minor tantus sophos,
Quam porticus bracchata. (6) Nam vester scholæ,
Gemiscit axis, tanta dum moles ruit.
Orbis soluta cardo litterarii,
Ubi studio coluit togam et trabeam pari.
Qualis per umbras ditis Eurydice vagans
Palpare gestiit Orphëum, quali Orphëus,
Saliente tandem (vix prius crispa) Styge,
Alite fibras lyræ titillavit manu;
Talis plicata philologwn ænigmatis
Petiit Baconum vindicem, tali manu
Lactata cristas extulit philosophia:
Humique soccis reptitantem comicis
Non proprio ardelionibus molimine
Sarsit, sed instauravit. Hinc politius
Surgit cothurno celsiore, et organo
Stagirita virbius reviviscit novo. (7)
Calpen superbo Abylamque vincit remige
Phœbi Columbus, artibus novis novum
Daturus orbem; promovet conamina
Juvenilis ardor, usque ad invidiam trucem
Fati minacis. Quis senex vel Hannibal,
Oculi superstitis timens caliginem,
Signis suburram ventilat victricibus? (8)

4.

On the Death of the Right Honourable Lord Francis of Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, late Chancellor of England.

Do you yet arrayed in proud purple exult over so many renowned men with the spoils of the bier, O barren tribunal? (3). Proclaim a day for hair-cloth, turn all the luxury of the Forum into sack-cloth, let not the pendent balance be borne by Themis, (4) but the urn, the ponderous urn of Verulam. Let her weigh. Alas! it is not an Ephorus presses down the scale, but the Areopagus (5); nor is so great a sage less than the foreign Porch. (6) For your axis groans, ye schools, as the mighty mass crashes down. The pole of the literary globe is dislocated, where with equal earnestness he adorned the garb of a citizen and the robe of state. As Eurydice wandering through the shades of Dis longed to caress Orpheus, so did Philosophy entangled in the subtleties of Schoolmen seek Bacon as a deliverer, with such winged hand as Orpheus lightly touched the lyre's strings, the Styx before scarce ruffled now at last bounding, with like hand stroked Philosophy raised high her crest; nor did he with workmanship of fussy meddlers patch, but he renovated her walking lowly in the shoes of Comedy. After that more elaborately he rises on the loftier tragic buskin, and the Stagirite (like) Virbius comes to life again in the Novum Organum. (7) The Columbus of Apollo with his lordly crew passes beyond the Pillars of Hercules in order to bestow a new world and new arts; youthful ardour advances his efforts even to the harsh envy of menacing fate. What ancient or what Hannibal fearing blindness of his remaining eye agitates (winnows) the Subura with his victorious standards (companies)? (8) What mighty Milo enrages the oaks, when gibbous old age weighs

Quis Milo multus quercubus bilem movet,
Senecta tauro gibba cum gravior premit ? (9)
Dum noster heros traderet scientias
Æternitati, prorsus expeditior
Sui sepulchri comperitur artifex.
Placida videtur ecstasis speculatio,
Qua mens tueri volucris idæas boni
In lacteos properat Olympi tramites.
His immoratur sedibus domestica,
Peregrina propriis. Redit. Joculariter
Fugax ; vagatur rursus, et rursus redit. (10)
Furtiva tandem serio, se substrahit
Totam; gementi, morbido cadaveri
Sic desuescit anima, sic jubet mori.
Agite lugubres musæ, et a Libani jugis
Cumulate thura. Sydus in pyram illius
Scintillet omne ; scelus sit accendi rogum
Rogum Prometheo culinari foco.
Et si qua forte ludat in cineres sacros
Aura petulantior, fugamque suadeat,
Tunc flete ; lacrymis in amplexus ruent
Globuli sequaces. Denuo fundamine
Ergastuli everso radicitus tui
Evehere fælix anima, Jacobum pete,
Ostende, et illuc civicam fidem sequi.
E tripode juris, dictites oracula
Themidos alumnis. Sic (beati cælites
Astræa pristino fruatur vindice,
Vel cum Bacono rursus Astræam date.

R. P.

more heavily than the ox? (9) While our demi-god transmitted sciences to all ages to come, he is found to be the altogether too premature constructor of his own tomb. His philosophic thinking seems tranquil ecstasy, whereby his mind wings its way through the galaxy of the heavens to contemplate the ideas of the good. There it abides as in its home, a stranger in its own. It returns. Playfully coy again it roams, and again returns. (10) At last in earnest secretly it wholly withdraws; thus the spirit gets disused to the groaning, sickly, dead body, thus bids it die. Come, mourning Muses, gather frankincense from the heights of Libanus. Let every star emit a spark into his pyre; be it sacrilege that the kingly pile should be kindled for Prometheus from a kitchen fire. And if perchance some mischievous breeze should frolic amid the sacred ashes and try to scatter them, then weep; the sequent teardrops will rush to mutual embraces. Once more, go forth, happy soul, the foundation of your prison being utterly destroyed, seek James, prove that even thither a subject's loyalty follows. From the tripod of law go on uttering oracles for the disciples of Themis. Thus, blessed inhabitants of heaven, let Astræa enjoy her champion of old, or with Bacon give back Astræa.

R. P.

NOTES.

(1) St. Alban (A.D. 303) was martyred through having changed clothes with a priest—his friend—whose name was Amphibalus. Amphibalus also means a cloak, *vestis exterior*. There is therefore a play upon the word here.

(2) The *Novum Organum* appeared in 1620 under the title of *Instauratio Magna*. It is written in aphorisms. *Dicta acute* therefore describes briefly the first work on the list; others which follow are similarly treated.

(3) The House of Lords.

(4) Goddess of law, custom and equity, represented carrying scales.

(5) That is, not a single judge, but the whole Supreme Court. The Areopagus of Athens was sometimes called Ἡ ἄνω βουλή, "The Upper House." Cicero writes to Atticus: "*Senatus* Ἄρειος πάγος, the Senate is an Areopagus" (ad. Att., I. 14).

(6) Literally, *trousered Porch*. All the nations around the Greeks and Romans were represented *braccatæ*. Seneca was a Spaniard. Stoic philosopher, statesman, writer of tragedies and brilliant man of letters, he was condemned to death by Nero, who put to death other stoics too. In fact, under the Claudian and Flavian emperors and Senate, the stoics had a bad time. Hence it seems that the allusion in the text is to these, and especially to Seneca.

(7) Aristotle, like Bacon, had "taken all knowledge for his province." He called his logic the *organon*—that is, the instrument of reason for demonstration. Hippolytus restored to life by Æsculapius was worshipped in Italy under the name of Virbius. In this passage the grammatical concordance is not clear—*e.g.*, whether *reptitantem* refers to philosophy or to Bacon, and consequently what the subject of the verbs following is. However, apart even from other considerations which would enable us to settle the matter, the parallelism of the complex simile requires the interpretation given. In any case the ultimate meaning is the same, viz., that philosophy was renovated by Bacon in the guise of the drama. All the Shakespeare plays are saturated with Bacon's science, learning and wisdom.

(8) I will make some suggestions to interpret this enigma. In the first place, it is enough for a comparison that some striking feature should be some way common to both members. *Omnis*

comparatio claudicat—every comparison halts. Every schoolboy knows that Hannibal lost an eye soon after invading Italy. When he marched his army—always victorious in the field—to the very walls of Rome, great panic there was the result, especially in the Subura, the most crowded quarter. Near the Subura ran the *Argiletum*, a street mostly occupied by the booksellers. *Ventilare* means to fan, to agitate, to winnow, in a special manner the last. Bacon's eye referred to here means (I suggest) "the poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling," and, by a common figure of speech, the products of that eye; so that "his surviving (*superstitis*) eye" would mean such of his plays as survived, for he had been writing plays since his youth, and had allowed multitudes of them to perish. We are told not one in fifty of the Elizabethan plays have probably come down to us. Even his surviving plays were winnowed—that is, the thirty-six plays of the folio were selected by him to represent his wisdom and philosophy, and when the news got abroad that Shakespeare's plays were to be published, and when Ben Jonson and others ("good pens which desert me not") busied themselves in collecting copies and in entering them where necessary at Stationers' Hall, thereby securing and notifying copyright or its equivalent (see Webb's "Mystery of William Shakespeare," p. 261), the Subura of London, inhabited by actors, playwrights, booksellers (pirates several of them), &c., was much agitated.

(9) The elegist in this couplet implies that Bacon had tried to do away with certain rooted abuses; but one of them (judges taking gifts, not necessarily bribes, from suitors) had caught him by the hands in his old age and left him a prey to his enemies. Milo, of Crotona, the most famous athlete of antiquity, carried an ox on his shoulders and ate it afterwards in one day. In his old age, trying to rive a partly split oak, it closed on his hands, and so he perished by wild beasts *Multus* looks like a misprint for *inultus*, unavenged or unvindicated.

(10) Bacon used to keep himself very retired at times. His friends complained that they could not gain access to him. His own expression was that he was keeping state. Spedding tells us that, amazingly frank as he is in the letters and documents he has left regarding his life generally, yet he never admits us to his fireside. His private life remains a mystery.

WILLIAM A. SUTTON.

APPLETON MORGAN

(A Somewhat Personal Narrative.)

DOCTOR JAMES APPLETON MORGAN—commonly called Appleton Morgan — is a personage of no small interest to Baconians. As a spokesman for all of us I may offer him our hearty congratulations on the honours lately conferred upon him, when, on the Shakespearean Saint's day, April 23—this being the twentieth anniversary of the New York Shakespeare Society, of which he is President and Founder—a silver loving-cup and a banquet were dedicated to him—a festive function honourable alike to the company and their guest. It is this circumstance that brings him again to our notice.

To Baconians, Appleton Morgan is best known by his ingenious, brilliant book, published in 1881, entitled, "The Shakespearean Myth:—William Shakespeare and Circumstantial Evidence." In this masterly volume the negative side of our case was conclusively proved by absolutely unanswerable argument. And although the Baconian alternative—the positive side—was not fully endorsed, it was well stated, and few readers would resist the conclusion that the author was a convinced Baconian. However, ten years afterwards, in 1891, another volume appeared from his pen, "Shakespeare in Fact and Criticism"; and, although it contained nothing to neutralise the force of the earlier volume, yet the effect of it was to shew that the author wished to eat his own words, and found them difficult of digestion—he was still professedly a Shakespearean, in the usual sense of the term. For him the Stratford gentleman was such an interesting person that it was worth while to write an elaborate discussion of the question which is the heading of one of his chapters,

"Have we a Shakspere among us?" *i.e.*, are any of his lineal descendents living in America? If so, let us know all about them; let them shine in the reflected light of their illustrious ancestor. (N.B.—Is not this a typical specimen of Shakespearean research!) To me (to *us*, I might say, but it is necessary just here to speak personally), at the time this seemed monstrous nonsense, and I expressed my contempt of it, and of the general *volte face* character of the volume, pretty plainly in the Bacon Journal. The book was a mystery, and so it still is—and so also is its author. For Appleton Morgan still seems to hold those two self-contradictory opinions. And yet he is, I feel persuaded, a genuine Baconian, and not even he himself can convince me to the contrary. In plenty of public and private utterances Appleton Morgan shews not only that the Shakespere creed is a baseless fiction, but that the Baconian is the necessary alternative. And accordingly we must not trouble ourselves with insoluble personal problems, but take him as he is. And he is worth having with or without his paradoxes: besides being extremely clever and well informed, he is a most genial and generous-hearted man, and I wish I could unsay the hard things I wrote about him—but I cannot. So I must in my turn be paradoxical and say, "You are a Shakespearean Baconian, a monstrous inconsistency; but—a man and a brother, and withal thy faults we love thee still!" I have especial reason for this friendly attached detachment, or detached attachment; for after the stern castigation given in the Bacon Journal I never expected a civil word from him again. Yet, soon after the publication of my "Studies," I received from him the following letter (he will excuse my breach of copyright in publishing it):—

> "Sir,—Will you permit a forgotten acquaintance, and an old anti-Shakespearean protagonist, and a gentleman

whom you once honoured by describing him as 'bowing himself down in the house of Rimmon,' to say that he has spent a delightful evening over your 'Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light.' You complain, dear sir, that the orthodox say that the Baconians are 'half-educated,' 'half-baked,' 'idiots,' 'fools,' 'lunatics,' etc., etc.; that they are abusive and scurrilous.* Now, my dear Sir, did you ever hear of a person abusing or slandering his inferiors, or those whom he considers so? I am getting to be a rather old party, and may not live to see its fulfilment; but I will venture to register a prophecy, viz., The time will come when Shakespeareans will claim that they always knew that Bacon wrote 'Shakespeare'; that they only pretended the contrary to draw out the facts; and—just as the late Lord Beaconsfield fought the Reform Bill with all his power until he was ready to bring it in himself—that they were waiting their own entire convenience, and incidentally amusing themselves with the poor Baconians. With sincere regard, believe me, etc."

As to this delicious prophecy may we not say, "which thing is a parable, and Appleton Morgan is the interpretation thereof." This unexpected and most gratifying letter led to some very friendly correspondence, and we exchanged portraits. On the back of his cabinet-sized 'counterfeit presentment,' he wrote, "R. M. Theobald, Esq., from his gentle enemy, Appleton Morgan.

"'As Peace should still her wheaten garland wear
And stand a comma 'tween their amities.'—*Bacon.*"

My own portrait was similarly flanked by the motto,

"Non idem dicere, sed idem spectare, debemus."—*Bacon.*

In a subsequent letter he writes:—

"In the eleven years since you wrote me the House of

*I do not know where Dr. Morgan found these literary sweetmeats; certainly not in my book. They are true reports, but I have never condescended to quote them; I have only rebuked them in general terms.

> Rimmon letter [*] I have been trying with all my might and main to believe that Shakspere wrote the Shakespeare plays—every word of them. And, unlike the man of our town, who was wondrous wise, I have been unable to scratch my eyes in again. I can't find Shakespere in the plays at all. I can't hear a line or read a line without the mental comment, 'Did Shakspere of Stratford, etc., etc., etc., ever say that?' And yet I believe thoroughly in Shakespeare, and you people must reconcile me with myself if you can. If not judge me as you see fit."

Except for the "*As yet,*" I also might say "I believe thoroughly in Shakespeare." But taking the whole collection, published and unpublished, I do not remember ever to have met with a more extraordinary specimen of paradox—it is a literary ballet dance, a whirling waltz of a most nimble contortionist—balancing himself on one toe and alternately facing and backing his onlookers. He may say he is a Shakespearean *and* a Baconian as well—as an Anarchist may profess to be also a Conservative—but we have no judgment to pass upon him; we simply give up the enigma and, taking him as he is, are quite content with moral if not intellectual accommodations.

Recently Appleton Morgan held a debate with Dr. Isaac Hull Platt on the Baconian theory, Appleton Morgan taking the Shakespere side. I never read a stronger or more ingenious statement of the case for

[*] The phrase was not in a letter, but in the review of his book published in the Bacon Journal. It may be well to quote the passage :—"We expect soon to hear of Mr. Morgan, arm-in-arm with Mr. Furnivall, mooning amongst the Stratford and Charlcote meadows, trying to study Shakespeare by watching the cows 'whisking their tails' in those consecrated pastures. We leave Mr. Morgan in the custody of his masters, bowing his manly front in the House of Rimmon. Whatever genuflections and incense he may choose to offer at this discredited shrine does not in the least concern us."

William Shakspere, a more typical illustration of the frequent fact that the most forcible representation of a case may be given by an opponent. For the defence is evidently a piece of special pleading, such as an accomplished lawyer (which Appleton Morgan is) might offer in defence of a prisoner whom he knew to be guilty.

As the President of the New York Shakespeare Society Appleton Morgan might be supposed to belong to the Shakspere Camp; but he expressly, in his after-dinner speech, claimed entire liberty of thought for all members of the Society, and that Baconian belief is no obstacle to membership — nor to Presidency, I may add. The speech is interesting, like everything from the pen or tongue of Appleton Morgan, and the readers of BACONIANA will be glad to possess it. The account of the Dinner in the *New York Evening Post* of April 27th, 1905, which has been sent to me, says:—

> "In the course of his reply, Dr. Morgan said:—Our precept, 'In brief, sir, study what you most affect,' taken together with our impulse first of all to be catholic, was meant to admit anybody who came to us for loving study of the dates and environment and biography of William Shakspere, and of the history of the text of the plays and poems of William Shakspere, and also to welcome whatever individual views he might have, so that with us he could study what he himself 'did most affect.' If he was of opinion that William Shakespeare was a pseudonym for Queen Elizabeth, or for Lord Bacon, well—he would be lonesome, but he would find that belief quite optional, and he would be welcome to be one of us. We would not dismiss a poor Baconian into outer darkness. Baconians, with all their deficiencies, do, at least, know how to read and write, and they know how to be a woeful thorn in the flesh to us, too; they are far too well informed for us plodding Shakespeareans.
>
> "They have read too many books, have constructed too many brilliant paradoxes, ask us altogether too many troublesome questions; and while we orthodox people are plodding

doggedly along, repeating what Rowe and Pope and Warburton and Theobald and Malone told us to say a hundred years ago, these clever infidels and heretics are burning the midnight oil and digging away at German and Spanish and all other Continental preserves, and studying Elizabethan, and even prior fields, and are lying in wait to floor us with what they find there. And then, too, let us forgive the sin of him that loveth much, and never forget that Baconians are devout worshippers of the text we call (and which they also call, by the way) Shakespeare, and that the whole basic hypothesis and building of their heterodoxy is that the plays are too splendid and too massive to be the product of even a darling of the gods, whose actual biography they cannot bring within planetary space of the literature he has christened his."

This is not the language of an opponent, nor even of a disbeliever, tolerant, but hostile. It may be spoken by a Janus bifrons, but his best smiles are on the Baconian side of his face. He cannot escape detection —the evidence of his finger-prints proves his identity— and we need not doubt that he is as genuine a Baconian as the best of us. As such let us receive him and give him our friendship and admiration. He may masquerade as a Shakespearean Esau, but his voice has the true ring of a Baconian Jacob; it does not matter whether his hand is shaggy or smooth, we cannot mistake the tones of his voice.

R. M. Theobald.

THE BI-LITERAL CIPHER IN *HENRY VII.*

IT has been suggested to me that I should give some of the results of my examination of Mrs. Wells Gallup's work on Bacon's *Henry VII.* I was not in England when Mrs. Gallup's MSS. arrived from America, in the early part of 1904. On my return to London in June of that year, I heard that two or three members of our Society had been trying to work the cipher, but on comparing notes found that the various copies of the 1622 edition did not agree in some of the forms of the italic letters. Only one member seemed inclined to devote the time and patience to investigate the matter at all thoroughly. That member, I understand, with much patience devoted *one whole week* to the study of the italic letters. His very able report against the cipher made me wish to look into the matter still more thoroughly myself. This may appear presumptuous, as I was not one of the committee appointed to enquire into the subject. But I had had the advantage of many conversations with Mrs. Gallup, when she first presented her work to the public five years ago, and saw her and her sister, Miss Wells, at work on a book they found in my house not before deciphered by them. I was busy with other literary work during the summer of 1904, but in the autumn made up my mind to send my own copy of the 1622 edition of *Henry VII.* to the Howard Publishing Company, in America, for examination. I was anxious to know if it was a safe copy on which I might commence my work. It was returned to me by Mr. Moore in January, 1905, with one or two pencilled corrections written by Mrs. Gallup in the margin. Mrs. Gallup, in her letter to me, said, " Your copy and ours are the

same, except in a very few places." In that letter, and in others since, she answered several of my questions, and they have materially helped me. I worked diligently for three months, often eight and ten hours a day.

My studies have been confined to the first fifty pages only of the medium italic type. I find in these fifty pages 10,058 italic letters. Of these, 1,319 are capitals. For the present I shall confine my remarks to the capitals only. In these fifty pages only twenty-two letters of the alphabet are used. I have completed my studies on thirteen of these letters. They represent 704 letters used for the two founts; and with very few exceptions I find them correctly so used in Mrs. Gallup's MSS. sent to us for examination. I have not yet completed my studies on the remaining nine letters of the alphabet, representing 615 letters. I am, however, finding the majority of these correctly used also. I am a slow worker, but each day's work is bringing out better results on these nine more difficult letters. I give below a table of all the letters in the order in which I found them easiest to read, with the columns of figures divided into "a's" and "b's."

	Totals.	"a"	"b"
A. ...	61 ...	25 ...	36
E. ...	78 ...	58 ...	20
I. J. ...	51 ...	49 ...	2
M. ...	49 ...	41 ...	8
N. ...	42 ...	32 ...	10
U. V. ...	11 ...	9 ...	2
Q. ...	13 ...	2 ...	11
P. ...	163 ...	119 ...	44
R. ...	41 ...	8 ...	33
S. ...	93 ...	62 ...	31
W. ...	19 ...	11 ...	8
T. ...	70 ...	39 ...	31
Y. ...	13 ...	7 ...	6
K. ...	71 ...	37 ...	34
L. ...	68 ...	46 ...	22

	Totals.	"a"	"b"
F. ...	78 ...	47 ...	31
B. ...	99 ...	65 ...	34
D. ...	74 ...	47 ...	27
H. ...	24 ...	12 ...	12
O. ...	24 ...	17 ...	7
G. ...	25 ...	18 ...	7
C. ...	152 ...	100 ...	52
	1,319	851	468

It was suggested to me, by a member who disliked the facts revealed in the cipher story, that even if I found the 1,319 capitals correctly used, that would not be sufficient to prove the existence of the cipher, unless I could also find that the small letters were correctly used by Mrs. Gallup. This made me leave the capitals for a time. I have since studied all the small letters of the medium italic type in those first fifty pages. But as they represent 8,739 letters, for the present I can only say I have finished my studies on three of the letters, namely, "k," "p," "w," and with only one or two exceptions I find them correctly used.

If my figures are correct, and I am prepared for the severest examination on these facts, can it be chance that those letters are correctly used in Mrs. Gallup's MSS.?

I would like to say here, that were it actually the case that only two forms of letters are used, the deciphering of over 10,000 letters would have been a comparatively easy work. But in some of the letters there are many variations, and these again must be paired. And yet in all these pairings there is system and order, and a method in all the seeming madness.

My work would have progressed much more rapidly had two or three others worked with me. For those who have the leisure and much patience I can recommend this interesting study. I am willing and in a

position to give them many short cuts, and they, in their turn, could, I have no doubt, help to finish the work I have commenced, that is, simply to verify the working of Mrs. Gallup's MSS. on this *Henry VII.* Those Baconians who have never very seriously tried to work at the cipher, and are more concerned in refusing to accept the rather unpleasant historical facts revealed, I would ask to suspend their judgment, and to allow others, who may be honestly and seriously trying to arrive at the truth, still to be allowed to examine the work submitted by Mrs. Gallup at the request of some of the members of our Society. The more I, as an amateur, study this technical part of our work, the more convinced I feel that Bacon did use his famous bi-literal cipher in his own prose history of *Henry VII.* A new discovery has been placed before us, and by experts; why should we discredit their labours, and refuse to give an equal amount of time and patience in examining their work?

I would like here to bring forward some curious facts connected with the printing of the 1622 edition of *Henry VII.* I have before me six copies—one belonging to Mrs. Pott, another to Mrs. Payne, and four of my own. Mrs. Payne's copy is similar to the copy collated for me by Mrs. Gallup. Mrs. Pott's copy has many differences in it—not in the words and matter, but in the use of the two founts of the italic type. Two of my own copies are similar to Mrs. Pott's copy. My fourth copy, again, is quite different to all the others. Why should there be these differences in the various copies of the same edition? Why should type once set up have been altered? And, when altered, why should these changes be carried through with system and order in other copies? Before closing this paper, I would like to remind Baconians that Bacon, in writing to Tobie Mathew in 1609, uses these words: "I have sent you some copies of my book of the *Advancement*

which you desired; and a little work of my recreation which you desired not. My *Instauration* I reserve for our conference; it sleeps not. Those works of the *alphabet* are in my opinion of less use to you now than at Paris. . . . But in regard that some friends of yours have still insisted here, I send them to you, and for my part I value your own reading more than your publishing them to others" (Spedding, vol. iv., p. 134). Spedding, in criticising this letter, says, "What these 'Works of the Alphabet' may have been I cannot guess, unless they related to Bacon's cipher." Spedding then proceeds again to explain this cipher.

Archbishop Tenison in 1679 was evidently aware that Bacon had used his Bi-literal Cipher in the 1623 folio of the "*De Augmentis*," for he especially recommends that "accurate" edition to those who wish to understand the Lord Bacon's Cipher (BACONIANA, 1679, p. 28). I myself have very little doubt but that Tenison used the same cipher all through his BACONIANA. I only wish I were an expert, and could decipher what he says.

D. J. KINDERSLEY.

THOUGH all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously to misdoubt her strength; let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to scorn in a free and open encounter?—*Milton*.

HENRY VII.

Report on Cipher.

The recent death of Mr. George C. Bompas, the revered President of the Bacon Society, has left a blank among us that will be very difficult to fill. The work that he did in helping to lift the veil that envelopes Bacon's life and writings was conspicuously strong and sound, and the clearness with which he has indicated the many incongruities of the Shakspearian theory of the authorship of the plays will always make his work memorable.

The last work which he was engaged on was a consideration of the Bacon cipher, and he left behind him a paper dealing with it. The cipher did not appeal to Mr. Bompas. What to some minds in this respect seemed reasonable, probable, and even convincing, to him appeared unreasonable and incredible. With his usual thoroughness in such matters he has laid bare his thoughts to the very roots.

It has been considered best, from respect to the memory of so eminent a friend as was Mr. Bompas, to publish the paper as he wrote it. At the same time it is felt that if he had lived to discuss his paper with members of the Bacon Council—as would have been the case in ordinary circumstances before publication—facts that he had overlooked might have enabled him to modify some of his statements; and it is felt, further, that to publish his paper without comment, coming with all the added weight as from the President, would be ungracious to those members of the Society who differ from Mr. Bompas on the question of the cipher, and are strenuously engaged on the work of its elucidation.

Therefore, in order to bridge over the division between the two courses above shown, I have been asked to add a few notes to some parts of Mr. Bompas' paper that would modify the conclusion to which his argument would lead. In fulfilling this task, I hope that my readers will realise how difficult it is of satisfactory performance, and make allowance for those places where it falls short of satisfaction.

Granville C. Cuningham.

BEFORE examining the cipher itself a preliminary difficulty must be considered, namely, the variation in the copies. It appears that the copies of *Henry VII.*, which have been examined, do not exactly correspond, though of the same edition and date. In some of these copies, not including that used by the decipherer, an 's' is added to the word "Highnesse" at the end of the Epistle Dedicatorie, and in some of the copies, not including that so used, the name "Elizabeth" in the fourth line from the bottom of page 3 is in Roman instead of Italic type. These changes, or either one of them, would suffice to throw out of gear the whole of the subsequent cipher, producing gibberish.* The form of many of the capitals also differs in the different copies. Each such change would alter a group letter and change or destroy a cipher word. Mr. Cuningham's copy differs widely from the others; many pages have evidently been set up afresh.

These facts present a dilemma. Either each different copy contains a different cipher story, which is absurd, or the decipherer happened by chance to light on the only correct copy, which is equally absurd.

The same difficulty exists with regard to the First Folio. The variations in the different copies are incon-

*It is easily shewn that the Italic letters enfolding the cipher might be largely changed, and yet the cipher story remain unaffected. For instance, the contraction "ha" might be used for "have." Now the use of "ha" for "have" would dispense with ten Italic letters, and these would be used for the first two letters of the word which followed after "ha" in the cipher story, and would thus change the succeeding Italic letters completely. Therefore, in the various copies of the 1622 edition of *Henry VII.* that have different Italic letters it is impossible *a priori* to say whether the cipher story is the same, or differs in each. I have no doubt that this trick was used with the intention of throwing dust in the eyes of spies.

sistent with the existence in it of a connected cipher story.

The prefatory matter, chiefly Italic, is bound up in different order in different copies.

For example, in the Baroness Burdett-Coutts' copy, from which Halliwell Phillipps' reduced copy is taken, the Epistle Dedicatorie and Address to various Readers are followed by—(1) Ben Jonson's poem, (2) Hugh Holland, (3) Digges and I. M., (4) Names of Players, (5) Catalogue.

In the Duke of Devonshire's copy, from which the recent Clarendon Press facsimile is taken, after the Epistle and Address come (1) The Poems of Digges and I. M., (2) The Names of Players, (3) Ben Jonson, (4) Hugh Holland, (5) Catalogue.

The printers' marks appear to show that these prefaces were printed, as they came to hand, separately from the succeeding text and from one another.*

The order of the plays is irregular. *Troilus and Cressida* does not appear in the catalogue, but seems to have come to hand during the printing, and is inserted before *Coriolanus*, without paging, except on three pages. In some copies *Winter's Tale* precedes *Coriolanus*.

Numerous mistakes both in Roman and Italic type also negative the existence of a cipher, which requires strictest accuracy.

The headlines in Italics of the last two pages of the

* The change in the order of printing of various parts of the folio only increases the difficulty of deciphering, but does not prevent it; and probably the changes were made for that very reason. In deciphering it has been found that the story breaks off at the end of one book, and then is continued in another without the smallest hint being given to connect the two, and to me this seems not otherwise than might be expected. "Mistakes," as they are called, in pagination sometimes give the clue to the correct path for the decipherer to follow.

Two Gentlemen of Verona are misprinted *The Merry Wives of Windsor.*

Many of the errors of paging and some in the text, including some Italic names, were corrected in the later copies. The sheets which were worked before correction were not destroyed; they were bound up indifferently with other sheets that had been revised.

Mr. Sidney Lee fully discusses the subject in his Introduction to the Clarendon Press facsimile, and states that "This casual method of correction was common to other books and to the Shakespeare Quartos, so that few copies of a single edition are identical. But the variations among different copies of the First Folio are more numerous than those among copies belonging to the same edition of any other known book of the day."

It appears therefore that the First Folio, instead of being, as alleged, a wonderfully elaborate construction, containing throughout a word cipher, a biliteral cipher, and numerous concealed plays, was in fact most carelessly and irregularly put together, and that no cipher story can really exist in the First Folio.

The *De Augmentis* is involved in peculiar difficulty. Upon this book Bacon mainly rested his philosophic fame. It was published in London in 1623 and in Paris in 1624.

If Bacon had really committed to this book the secrets of his life, the disclosure of which would endanger his position and even his life, he would surely not have placed in the same book the key, open to all the world. He would doubtless have confided the key to his friends, with careful instructions to unlock the mystery 50 or 100 years after his death. If there were such a cipher story in *De Augmentis*, with the key open on its face, Bacon was by his own egregious folly ex-

posed for the last three years of his life to the imminent peril of disclosure of his secrets. This is not credible.*

But, further, the two editions of 1623 and 1624 do not agree. The Paris edition was inaccurate; the distinctive forms in the key are given less accurately and the text of the examples following the key is inaccurate, "parati" being substituted for "pauci" in the twelfth line, which, unless corrected, throws out the cipher for the following four lines.

Yet this Paris edition was the one on which Mrs. Gallup worked, and its inaccuracy was no obstacle to her cipher story.

When Mrs. Gallup came to London, and the inaccuracy of the 1624 edition was pointed out,† she examined the 1623 edition at the British Museum and

* Bacon had to take this risk. The secret was too dangerous for any man to unfold. Even 50 or 100 years after his death the disclosing of the secret *might* have had most serious consequences in political affairs, and to be possessed of such a secret and make it known might very easily have rendered the possessor amenable to condign punishment. Archbishop Tenison probably knew the secret, so probably did Rawley, and Ben Johnson, but none dared make it known. The difficult position that Bacon was in was this—that unless all his labour was to be lost, and his secret for ever buried, he *must* make the key public (veiling it and shrouding it as carefully as possible), and trust to the quick wit of some person to understand its use. If the secret were too carefully veiled it would never be found; if too clearly shewn it would be over-quickly unravelled, and between these two lay Bacon's difficulty. Perhaps the key was given as well to the secret Rosicrucian Society.

† Mrs. Gallup herself pointed out that the Paris edition (which she had deciphered) differed from the London edition in the Italics, and drew the inference that the London edition contained a different story. It has not yet been deciphered. There was never any question about the "inaccuracy" of the edition. I think it is quite credible that the two editions may contain different stories, though, for the reasons given on p. 1, this does not *necessarily* follow from the Italics being different.

found the London type so different from the Paris type that she declared that the London edition contained quite a different story!

Is this credible? That Bacon wrote out and marked letter by letter a second copy of *De Augmentis*, with a different cipher story (with which we have not yet been enlightened) and had it published in Paris, and, careless of his own safety, published the key to all the world in both editions?

The plain inference is that the cipher and cipher story are imaginary, and this is confirmed by examination of *Henry VII.*, now submitted as a test case.

There are two essentials to a genuine biliteral cipher: 1. Two complete distinct alphabets. 2. Strict adherence to their use. To use Bacon's words, "You must have ready at hand a bi-formed alphabet which may represent all the letters of the common alphabet, as well capitall letters as the smaller characters in a double forme" (*De Augmentis*, Wats' Translation, 1640). The necessity of strict use goes without saying. Every misuse *pro tanto* defeats the cipher and misleads the decipherer.*

These two conditions are fulfilled in the examples given by Bacon in the *De Augmentis*, published in London in 1623. The question to be determined is whether they are satisfied in the present case.

There do not appear to be two complete distinct

* These canons here laid down are not such as would be used by one desiring to make the cipher difficult of deciphering, as I conceive must have been Bacon's object. If there were always two complete distinct alphabets, and strict adherence to their use, deciphering would be an easy—and a too easy—matter. Far from this being the case, those who have deciphered find obstructions and difficulties constantly interposed, and these can only be overcome by much intelligent perseverance. Bacon indicated how the cipher could be used, and then devised means to make it as difficult as possible, within the limits of possibility.

alphabets. An examination of the first sixty pages appears to show the following results :—

Five of the capital letters, A, E, I, M and N, have two distinct forms correctly used for 'a' and 'b' in both the smaller and larger types with, in all, about seven exceptions.

Q and U have also two forms correctly used, but occur only twelve times each.

In A and I and U the use is reversed in the smaller and larger type.

G has two forms in the larger type, correctly used; but only one form in the smaller type used in it, therefore, both for 'a' and 'b.'

P and R, on the contrary, have two forms in the smaller type correctly used, with two exceptions; but, in the larger type, one form for 'a' and 'b.'

C has two forms, long and short; and Y has two forms, small and large, which might therefore be used to distinguish 'a' from 'b,' but they are used indifferently for both.

T has one distinct form of Roman type, but sloping, always used for 'b,' and three slightly varying forms, which seem used indifferently for 'a' and 'b.'

Eight letters, B, D, F, H, K, L, O, S, appear to have only one form, used indifferently for 'a' and 'b.'

The small letters appear generally indistinguishable, except the long and short 's' and the three forms of 'u' and 'v.'

If in the eight capitals last named, or in the small letters, there are microscopic differences, they would, I believe, be insufficient to prevent the letters being used indifferently for 'a' or 'b' without detection. Mrs. Gallup asserts there are such differences clear to her and used correctly, but this rests only on her assertion. Although the key is known and the alleged differences explained, I believe no one on this side of the Atlantic

has been able to decipher a single complete sentence except by guesswork. *

If this is a correct appreciation of the facts, the cipher used is a very incomplete one, and differs widely from Bacon's complete biliteral cipher. It will presently be shown that such an incomplete cipher is practically a nullity.

With regard to the second condition, if it appeared that the clear distinctions between the letters which constituted the cipher were disregarded, and that the letters, either capital or small, were used indiscriminately as 'a' or 'b,' this would negative the existence of the cipher.

In the early editions of Mrs. Gallup's books two complete alphabets of distinct type were given as those by which she was enabled to decipher from the *Novum Organum*, and a facsimile was given of the first portion of the book for comparison and a cipher transcript. But on comparison of the alphabets with the facsimile and transcript, the letters appeared to be in many cases incorrectly used.

In the typical alphabet two quite distinct forms of the capital A are given for font 'a' and font 'b.' In the first two pages of the facsimile the capital A occurs twelve times, all in the form 'a,' but of these three are called and used for 'b.'

Two forms of C are given, but in the first page of the facsimile C occurs four times. The three first resemble 'a,' but are called 'b'; the last resembles 'b,' but is called 'a.'

E is given in two quite distinct types for fonts 'a'

* Mrs. Pott also has deciphered a portion of *Henry VII.* and passages from various books not entered upon by Mrs. Gallup, and her deciphering was published in BACONIANA for Sept., 1899. But the work is extremely difficult and absorbing and not such as can easily be continued.

and 'b.' In page 1 E occurs five times in form 'a,' yet one is called 'b.'

N occurs three times in the two first pages, all in the form of the 'b' font, yet all are called 'a.'

U is given in two quite distinct forms for 'a' and 'b' and both forms occur in page 3, but both are called 'a.'

The same arbitrary practice appeared to prevail in the use of the small letters which are practically indistinguishable. A convenient example may be found in the word "immiscere" (page 4, line 6), which contains each of the letters 'i,' 'm,' 'e,' twice. The letters of each pair seem indistinguishable, but, in each case, one of the pair is called 'a,' the other 'b.'

These and other irregularities threw doubt on the reality of the cipher, and went far to negative its existence. After they were pointed out the alphabets were omitted in later editions. Why were the alphabets suppressed if, in fact, they had revealed the cipher? If they had not, the cipher is an illusion.

The example now submitted for scrunity as a test of the genuineness of the cipher appears to be more carefully prepared. It would indeed be strange if, in an example submitted as a test case, such obvious faults as the misplacing of plainly distinct capitals were allowed to appear; and the manuscript shows signs of revision.

It should be observed, moreover, that while *Henry VII.* appears to contain only seven capital letters in complete double form, the *Novum Organum* was said by Mrs. Gallup to contain the whole alphabet for both small and large type in double form. The First Folio will be found to contain at least fifteen capital letters in double form. This may account for the fewer faults detected in the present example of the cipher, and possibly for the selection of this book as a test of the

correctness of the cipher; seven letters being more easily adjusted than fifteen or twenty-four.*

But the apparently correct use (with a few exceptions) of seven letters, or a partially consistent use of ten, affords but slender proof of the genuineness of the cipher. None at all if, as appears to be the case, the remaining capitals and small letters are used indiscriminately; for every letter not having a double form, appropriately used, is a witness against the cipher.

With but little trouble a cipher limited to seven or ten letters may be constructed so as to produce *any desired result.*

Each page of the larger Italics in *Henry VII.* contains about 850 letters. In each page one of the distinct capitals occurs about fourteen times, or once out of every sixty letters. All that is required is that one out of every sixty letters should be marked 'a' or 'b' as required. As the biliteral cipher contains 'a' twice as often as 'b,' the probability is two to one that if 'a' is required an 'a' will present itself without any trouble. If not, or if 'b' is required and is not there, a very slight change will produce the required letter; for each letter of the text, be it remembered, is only one of a group of five letters required to produce one letter of the transcript.

If 'b' is required instead of 'a,' and it is the first letter of the group, any of the eight groups of the cipher beginning with 'b,' viz., 's' to 'z,' may be substituted. If it is the last letter of the group you

*Mrs. Kindersley has found that all the capital letters used in medium Italic type in the first 50 pages of *Henry VII.* (1622 Ed.) are in double form. There are only 22, X and Z not appearing as capitals. So far she has checked 13 of these letters with Mrs. Gallup's deciphering, and in the 704 letters they represent, finds only 14 instances in which she fails to corroborate Mrs. Gallup's use of them.

have a choice of eleven letters, whose group begins with 'a,' to fit into the transcript.

To show that anything can be read into such a cipher, take the first two lines of "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," containing, with the first letter of the third line, sixty letters. In this, one capital would have to be marked 'a' or 'b' as required. But to make it six times more difficult, let all the six capitals be marked alternately 'a' and 'b.' The lines may be interpreted in either of the ways shown below:—

a b a
Thefe astwa sover inBra nksom eTowe r
1. *a*aaba abaaa abbba aa*b*bb aabaa b*a*aaa a
C I P H E R x
2. *a*aaaa abbaa aaaaa ba*b*aa aabab b*a*abb a
A N x A W F U

b a b
Andt heLad yhadg oneto herse cretb owerH er
1. *b*aaa ba*a*ab baabb aaaaa ababa abaaa aaab*b*
I S x V A L I D x
2. *b*aba aba*b*a aabbb abbab aaaaa babab abba*b*
L L x H O A X x O x

To fit in one letter in sixty is not therefore difficult, and this is not sufficient proof of the genuineness of the cipher. Nor does the identification of an occasional letter with the 'a' or 'b' type exercise appreciable control on the output.

Another illustration may be given showing also that the cipher transcript has been revised.

In the cipher extract from *Henry VII.* given in Mrs. Gallup's book (page 137, line 2) occur these words, "acco'. It is a subtly planned cipher." The words in the text now sent are, "acco't. It is a subtly planned ciphe'." A 't' is added to the first word and an 'r' dropped from the last, both terms containing twenty-eight letters, which represent twenty-eight

groups of five letters, or 140 letters in the text of *Henry VII.*, pages 29 and 30. These 140 letters are: "e Treasure Dower Designe Maiestic Royall England The Historie of the Raigne of Counsells Quiver King Conjunction Neeces Neece crowne Earle Lincolne Partie Lords Alm."

It happens that in these 140 letters there are five distinct capitals, viz., M, E, N, N, E, and in the present text they are consistently rendered except the last E, which should be 'a' instead of 'b.'

The text as originally given shows three capitals wrong—M, E, N. The revision reduces the errors from three to one, but fifteen capitals and over forty small letters have their ascription changed from 'a' to 'b,' or *vice versa.*

It is not easy to reconcile such changes with a genuine cipher. If fifty-five letters out of 140 can be changed at will from 'a' to 'b' or 'b' to 'a' the alleged cipher is plainly illusory.

Other differences in the text will be found at pages 38 and 39. At page 38 'i' is introduced in the new text. At page 39 "some portio' o'" is now substituted for "a portio' of" in the original text, adding two letters.

It does not appear how the added letters are now revealed by the cipher. Their insertion or omission must change the whole of the subsequent cipher and negative its reality. For in these three instances changes are made in obvious disregard of any cipher.

This leads to the next point, which is to ascertain if, in fact, the other capitals and the small letters are dealt with indiscriminately as 'a' or 'b.' If so, there is no real cipher.

Digraphs, or double letters, may first be considered. These being cast in one piece of metal cannot belong to two different fonts, yet they are constantly so

interpreted. If it is suggested that they may represent two letters without reference to font, they should at least always represent the same letters, but they are not so used.

A convenient example will be found at page 39, where the word "Sanctuarie" occurs eight times within a few lines. The digraph 'ct' is used four times for 'aa,' once for 'bb,' twice for 'ba,' and once for 'ab.'

So in the first six pages the digraph 'st' is used once for 'bb,' twice for 'aa,' four times for 'ab,' and twice for 'ba.'

In the same pages the digraph 'll' is used thrice for 'aa,' once for 'bb,' and eight times for 'ba.' The digraph 'ff,' 'ss,' and 'sh,' are in like manner used indiscriminately for 'a' or 'b.' The digraphs form about one-ninth of the text. If the alleged cipher is disregarded in one-ninth of the text, what reason is there to suppose it is observed in the other eight-ninths?

The digraphs, therefore, afford cogent evidence against the existence of a real cipher.

A convenient mode of testing whether the other capitals and the small letters are assigned to the 'a' and 'b' types by any rule, may be to take from the headings of the first twenty-one pages the words "The Historie" and "King the Seventh," and see how they are interpreted. These headings can be most easily compared, and with exception of the T they appear to be identical in type, and the transcription should correspond. The T's are all of the same character, but it may be observed that the top stroke of some, as on pages 2 and 8, is a little longer than others, as on pages 4 and 6. If this is a distinction it is disregarded. The four T's on pages 2, 4, 6 and 8 are alike called 'b.' There seems no difference between pages 8 and 10, yet these are called 'b' and 'a'; page 12 has a short top

unlike 8 and 10, but is called 'a' This, however, is the transcription :—

The Historie.		King the Seventh.	
Page.		Page.	
2.	baa baabaaaa	3.	abab aab abaabba
4.	baa baaaaaaa	5.	bbab aaa babaaab
6.	bba aaabaaba	7.	abab aab abaabba
8.	bab baabaaaa	9.	baab aaa babaaba
10.	aaa baabaaaa	11.	aaab baa aaabbab
12.	aaa aaaabaaa	13.	baab aaa aaabaab
14.	aab aaaaabaa	15.	abab aab abaabba
16.	baa baaaaaaa	17.	baab aaa babbaab
18.	aaa baabaaaa	19.	abba bba aaabaab
20.	bba aaabaaaa	21.	aabb bab aababab

The transcription differs in every page, and appears to show that these letters are assigned to the 'a' and 'b' types by no rule, but the will of the decipherer.

An examination of the deciphering of *Henry VII.*, offered for scrutiny, appears therefore to show that seven of the capital letters are plainly distinguishable, and these, with a few exceptions, are used consistently with the alleged cipher, and four other capitals are consistently used in one type but not in the other; but that the other capitals and the small letters are used without rule, as is shown by the changes in the text, and by the examples of the digraphs and of the headings.

The existence of the cipher, therefore, appears not proven. There appears to be no evidence in support of it beyond Mrs. Gallup's assertion, and this does not appear to agree with her practice or to be consistent with the evidence of other people's perceptions. There appears no reason why other people should surrender the evidence of their senses, which can be raised to any required acuteness by aid of magnifiers, and which

negative the existence of any such small consistent and reliable distinctions as asserted by Mrs. Gallup.

There are many other difficulties in the way of accepting the cipher as real.

The cipher is said to be taken from forty-four different books, published at various dates from 1590 to 1635, printed probably by twenty or more different printers.

The differences in type are said to be in part so minute as to be recognisable only after long study and with the aid of a magnifier. Were all the printers supplied with magnifiers? It has been suggested, in order to dispense with magnifiers, that possibly the types were marked with two marks, and the manuscripts marked under each letter, to enable the printers to work. Apart from the labour, and the difficulty of getting the printers to work this system accurately, how could secrecy be preserved? Every printer and printer's man would know these forty-four books contained cipher secrets, and in 1623 the key was published to all the world in the *De Augmentis*.

Is it likely also that Bacon would commit State secrets to a cipher which could only be discovered with a magnifier, and whose distinctions are so minute, and therefore uncertain, as to be capable of being read in any number of different ways?

That the cipher flatly contradicts Bacon's authentic statements is not denied. If it is a question of credibility between Francis Bacon and Mrs. Gallup the Bacon Society should prefer Francis Bacon.

GEORGE COX BOMPAS.

THE PARNASSUS TRILOGY*

THE complete trilogy of the Parnassus plays has now been before the world nearly thirty years, and we are no nearer to a conclusion as to their origin and purpose; yet they are crowded with hints and suggestions applicable to the various problems connected with the Elizabethan drama, and especially to Shakespeare. Shakespeare, indeed, is almost constantly in evidence in the second and third of these plays. The authorship of plays, the fortunes of scholars, their ideals contrasted with their realities, their social position compared with that of actors, the special merits of a great number of contemporary poets,—these are the chief topics of most of the acts and scenes; and in all these particulars William Shakespeare the poet, and the poems attributed to him, are either directly or indirectly dwelt upon. Scholars find that the road to Parnassus is the road to beggary and contempt. The prizes due to learning are given to Ignorance and Stupidity. Actors are "leaden spouts, that nought do vent but that which they receive." These "painted asses" are seated in "chairs of dignity," while the unsuccessful scholar is reduced to menial occupations. I do not think it will be easy to find any head for whom these various caps are better fitted than that of William Shakspere. Surely this is his very portrait. Studioso, the Cambridge scholar, speaks:—

> "Fair fell good Orpheus, that would rather be
> King of a molehill than a Keysar's slave:
> Better it is 'mongst fiddlers to be chief,
> Than at a player's trencher beg relief.
> But is't not strange these mimic apes should prize
> Unhappy scholars at a hireling rate?

* *The Return from Parnassus.* Anon. Temple Dramatists. (J. M. Dent and Co., 1s. 6d.)

Vile world that lifts them up to high degree
And treads us down in grovelling misery,
England affords those glorious vagabonds,
That carried erst their fardels on their backs,
Coursers to ride on through the gazing streets,
Sooping it in their glaring satin suits,
And pages to attend their masterships:
With mouthing words that better wits have framed
They purchase lands, and now esquires are named."

—3 *Par.*, V. i.

These plays show high poetic merit; they are full of inexhaustible wit and character painting; they abound in classic allusions and even quotations. The poet was evidently quite familiar with French; there is a good deal of law jargon in his writing—in fact we find all the leading characteristics of the Shakespearean drama, while resemblances and parallels in thought and phrase turn up not only in every page, but many times in most pages. In the first hundred lines of the first play there are no less than thirty passages which recall about fifty parallel passages in Shakespeare, and in complex fashion these give their support to the Baconian theory; for we have—

1st. Almost positive proof that Bacon wrote a good deal of the poetry.

2nd. Equally positive proof that "Shakespeare" did.

3rd. Equally positive proof that both were occupied with the same passages.

We can only find room for typical instances of all these. The most striking is the following. Bacon in his *Advancement* thus writes:—

"Herein the invention of one of the late poets is proper, and doth well enrich the ancient fiction. For he feigneth that at the end of the thread or web of every man's life there was a little medal containing the person's name, and that Time waited upon the shears, and as soon as the thread was cut, caught the medals

and carried them to the river of Lethe; and about the banks there were many birds flying up and down, that would get the medals and carry them in their beak a little while, and then let them fall into the river. Only there were a few swans, which, if they got a name, would carry it to a temple where it was consecrate." —*Works* IV. 307.

The same "invention" appears in the third Parnassus play, IV. 3:—

> "Fond world that ne'er thinks on that aged man,
> That Ariosto's old swift-paced man,
> Whose name is Time, who ever lins to run,
> Loaden with bundles of decayed names,
> The which in Lethe's lake he doth entomb,
> Save only those which swan-like scholars take
> And do deliver from that greedy lake."

Curiously enough the Clarendon Editor, as well as Mr. Ellis, naming Ariosto as the "late poet," says that Mr. Singer was the first to point out the source of this reference! being unaware that the name Ariosto was already given in the old play. The fact that Bacon and the Parnassus poet both hit upon the same obscure passage is not a little remarkable.

Almost equally striking is the definition of a scholar given by the Page in the same play (II. 6): "Nay, maister, let me define a mere scholar. I heard a Courtier once define a mere scholar to be *animal scabiosum*—that is, a living creature that is troubled with the itch." In Bacon's *Advancement* (Works III. 426) the same definition is quoted: "Socrates saying that the Sophist's felicity was the felicity of one that had the itch, who did nothing but itch and scratch."

The three groups of writings all meet in the following curious passage. Bacon's chapter, in the History of Life and Death, on the Inteneration of bodies that have been dried (V. 230), says: "Leather boots grown hard and stiff with age are softened by being greased with tallow

before the fire," etc. Leonatus, servant to Consiliodorus, recounting the merits of his father, says: "Oh! he was a wise man! he could give such fine rules concerning the liquoring of boots for the holding out of water" (2 *Par.*, I. 1). The same accomplishment is referred to in 1 *Henry, IV.* II. i.: "What! the commonwealth their boots? Will she hold out water in foul way? She will, she will; justice hath liquored her." And Falstaff (*Merry Wives*, iv. 5): "They would melt me out of my fat drop by drop, and liquor fishermen's boots with me."

The poet, who contrasts the anticipations of scholars with their actual experiences, uses the same language as Bacon:—

"The two ways of Contemplation are not unlike the two ways of action already spoken of by the ancients; the one plain and smooth in the beginning and in the end impassable; the other rough and troublesome in the entrance, but after a while fair and even."—*Works* III. 293.

In *The Conference of Pleasure* he says of love:—

"It is not like the virtues which by a steep and cragged way conduct us to a plain, and are hard taskmasters at first, and after give an honourable hire."

In the Parnassus play Philomusus speaks of tracing

"This rough, this harsh, this craggy way
That leadeth unto fair Parnassus hill."

Studioso also is journeying, he says, "through this craggy isle, this harsh, rough way." The same description of the craggy way is repeated in three other passages.

Bacon's very remarkable ideas about hope, as a useless and enfeebling sentiment, appear frequently in Shakespeare. With some contempt Hotspur's sanguine temper is described:—

"Who lined himself with hope,
Eating the air on promise of supply."
—2 *Henry, IV.* I. iii. 27.

The same unusual view is found in 1 *Par.*, V. 1: "I fed so long upon hope till I had almost starved."

Bacon's (and Shakespeare's) repeated allusion to sunshine as shining equally on the fairest and the foulest objects—in a castle or on a cesspool—is put into the mouth of Ingenioso, who speaks of his patron as "a churl who thinks it enough for his favour like a sun to shine on the dunghill of learning."

The loud reverberations of an empty vessel is alluded to in Shakespeare as in Bacon, and in the second Parnassus play. Bacon, in his letter to Rutland, says: "God knows they have gotten little who have only this discoursing gift; for though, like empty casks, they sound loud enough when a man knocks on their out-outside, yet, if you pierce into them, you shall find them full of nothing but wind." In *Henry V.*, IV. iv., Pistol is similarly portrayed: "I did never know so full a voice issue from so empty a heart; but the saying is true, 'The empty vessel makes the greatest noise.'" And in the Parnassus play the proverb is quoted again: "Even as an empty barrel soundeth most, as they say."

The two heroes of the Parnassus plays are referred to as two *individuum vagum.* Bacon so also describes himself, speaking to the King of the successive steps of his rising: "You found me of the learned Counsel extraordinary, without patent or fee,—a kind of *individuum vagum.*"

Stercutio, soliciting a living for his son, Immerito, praises his many gifts, and as "one that hath taken all his learning on his own head" (3 *Par.*, II. 4). This looks like an echo of Bacon's claim for himself: "I have taken all knowledge to be my province."

The traces of Shakespeare's hand are too numerous to be fully set forth; they must sooner or later appear when these plays are published with Notes and Elucidations. Some idea of the abundance of these may be formed by quoting a few lines, and interpolating them with Shakespeare comparisons. Take the opening lines of the first play:—

"*Now, Philomusus, do your beardless years.*
A beardless boy."—*John*, V. i. 69.
"Every beardless vain comparative."—1 *Henry IV.*, III. ii. 66.

"*Your fair young spring-time, and your budded youth.*
Young budding virgin, fair and fresh and sweet."
—*Taming of the Shrew*, IV. v. 37.
"In this new spring of time."—*Richard II.*, V. ii. 50, etc.

"*Urge me to advise your young untutored thought.*
"Untutor'd lad, thou art too malapert."—3 *Henry VI.*, V. v. 32.
Also see 2 *Henry VI.*, III. ii. 213.
"She might think me some untutored youth."
—Sonnet 138.
"My untutored lines."—*Dedic. to Lucrece.*

"*And give gray-bearded counsel to your age.*
Love, which grey beards call divine."
—3 *Henry VI.*, V. vi. 81.

"*Unto an old man's speech one minute give.*
Who many years have schooled how to live,
To an advising tongue one half hour tend:
Whatsoe'er I speak experience hath penned.
Well! I am schooled."—1 *Henry IV.*, III. i. 190.
(And *cf. Richard II.*, II. i. 1—30.)

"*Perhaps this tongue, this mind interpreter.*
His fair tongue, conceit's expositor."
—*Love's Labour's Lost*, II. i. 72.

"*Shall never more borrow your listening ear.*
Lend me your ears."—*Julius Cæsar*, III. iii. 78.

"*My corpse shall lie within some senseless urn.*
Lay these bones in an unworthy urn."
—*Henry V.*, I. ii. 228.

"*Some little grave my ashes shall enclose.*
My large kingdom for a little grave—
A little, little grave, an obscure grave."
—*Richard II.*, III. iii. 153.

"*My winged soul 'gins scorn this slimy jail,*
And thinks upon a purer mansion;
My winged soul."—*2 Henry VI.*, III. iii. 16.
"Thy gallant spirit . . . here did scorn the earth."
—*Romeo and Juliet*, III. i. 123.

"*Eld summons me to appear at Pluto's court.*
Among the shady troops of aery ghosts.
When you come to Pluto's region."
Titus Andronicus, IV. iii. 13.

"*I'll therefore counsel you while I have time,*
For fear your fair youth wither in her prime.
The lovely April of her prime."
—Sonnet 3.
"Losing his verdure even in the prime."
—*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. i. 49.

"*Take good advice from him who loves you well,*
Plain dealing needs not Rhetoric's tinkling bell.
Honest plain words best pierce the ear of grief."
—*Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 763.
"Fie, painted Rhetoric! O, she needs it not."
—*Ibid.*, IV. iii. 239.
"When they have devised
What strainéd touches Rhetoric can lend,
Thou, truly fair, wert truly sympathysed
In true plain words, by thy true telling friend."
—Sonnet 82.

(*To be concluded.*)

R. M. THEOBALD.

HONORIFICABILITUDINITATIBUS

IN *Love's Labour's Lost*, the earliest of the Shakespearean dramas, this word appears, and for some years past it has been maintained, on the authority of Dr. Platt, that in it an anagram is to be found showing that Bacon was the author of the plays. It is surely time that this supposition should be knocked on the head.

A variation of the word in the form "Honorificabilitudine" is found on the cover of the Northumberland House manuscript; Dr. Platt's contention is that this infolds the words: *Initio hi ludi Fr. Bacone* (In the beginning these plays from Fr. Bacon), and that the anagram in this form not being considered satisfactory, another was inserted in *Love's Labour's Lost*, which can be construed into *Hi ludi, tuiti sibi Fr. Bacone nati.* We are informed that "thus we have before us the making of the word by Bacon," and that "the case seems to be complete." The suggestion is an instance of ingenious "Labour Lost."

Bacon did not make the word. In the form in which it appears in *Love's Labour's Lost* (1589-92) it is to be found in a volume published at St. Andrews in 1548 or 1549, entitled, *The Complaynt of Scotland*, attributed to Sir John Inglis by some and to Wedderburn by others. This volume, which is of extreme rarity, and was dedicated to Queen Mary, was re-printed in Edinburgh in 1801. In the "Prolog" to the reader, the author, in railing at the common use of long and out-of-the-way words by "diverse translatours and copilaris (compilers) in ald tymes," gives as examples "Hermes quilk pat in his verkis this lang tailit vordis conturbabatur, constantipolitani, innumerabilibus, solicitudinibus. There vas ane othir that writ in his verkis, gaudet *honorificabilitudinitatibus*," etc. This appeared years before either

Bacon or Shakspere was born, so the word was not invented by either one or other of them.

But the word is even older than *The Complaynt of Scotland*, for in the form "honorificabilitudino" it is to be found in a Charter of 1187, and in the form "honorificabilitudinitas" in the *De Gestis Henrici VII.* of Albertino Mussato (1261-1330).

"Honorificabilitudinitate" is also to be found in the Italian translation of Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia* in 1529, and the Latin original in 1577, and it is also included in the *Magnæ Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa, the standard Latin dictionary in Dante's time, as well as in the *Catholicon* of Giovanni da Genova, one of the earliest of printed books.

If the Latin of the anagram extracted from the word as it appears in *Love's Labour's Lost* is to be considered an ordinary specimen of Bacon's proficience in Byron's "soft bastard Latin," then I am not surprised that Ben Jonson was engaged to translate the great Chancellor's works from English into that language. Here is a better Latin anagram if Dr. Platt will accept it: *Ubi Italicus ibi Danti honor fit* (Where there is an Italian there honour is paid to Dante).

It is a curious fact that immediately after the first publication of *Love's Labour's Lost* in 1598, Thomas Nash used the same "lang tailit" vord in the same form, in his *Lenten Stuffe*, 1599, and Marston did likewise in his *Dutch Courtezan*, 1605.

My purpose is to show that this suggested anagram is simply a mare's nest, and not deserving a moment's consideration.

George Stronach.

"SHAKESPEARE'S STORY OF HIS LIFE"

THIS is a recent publication by Mr. C. Creighton, M.D. (London: Grant Richards). It contains much that bewilders, much that gives food for thought. It is conceived upon right lines—the chronological study of contemporary Elizabethan literature and biography. But in our opinion it fails, and this largely through the adoption of an unsound hypothesis. Dr. Creighton leaps and bounds to his conclusions across huge gaps of difficulties. In elucidation of this we will discuss one chapter—the sixth. We have not space for more. In this chapter the author proves to his own satisfaction that Barnabe Barnes, a minor poet, 1569—1609, was Shakespeare's literary devil! He states that his evidence is "constructive," which seems to us an appropriate definition.

His first construction is to assume that the "W. S." by whom *Locrine*, 1595, was "set foorth overseene and corrected," was Shakspere. Most Shakesperian critics reject this theory on the intelligible grounds that he might have been expected to have made a better job of it. Then because (on the strength of Nash's doubtful delineation of Barnabe's personal appearance and conduct) Dr. Creighton thinks Don Armado in *Love's Labour's Lost* a caricature of Barnes, he also thinks he sees in Strumbo, a character in *Locrine*, another sly cut at Barnes effected by W. S. while editing *Locrine* for the press. Dr. Creighton believes one of the lines given to Strumbo to be a refined travesty of the figure of speech used in one of the sonnets written by Barnes in 1593, whilst he was in an erotic and irreverent phase. When once these premises have captured our understanding the rest is easy. Barnes wrote *Locrine*. Dr.

Creighton's sequiter is, that as *Titus Andronicus, Henry VI.*, first part, *Selimus, Pericles,* and *King Leir* are much after the class and style of *Locrine,* ergo Barnes wrote them also, and as some of them are afterwards claimed by Shakespeare, ergo Barnes was his literary devil.—Q.E D.

Dr. Creighton confirms himself in his theory that Barnes wrote *King Leir* because it was not printed until 1605, and three of its characters express pious sentiments, and pious sentiments happen to be distinctive of Barnes in his second phase—the reverent—shown in his *Centurie of Spiritual Sonnets,* published 1595. Evidently :—

> "The devil was sick, the devil a monk was he."

But *King Leir* was entered on the register in May, 1594, and probably soon afterwards printed (though no quarto of this date appears to be extant). If so, Barnabe must have been capable of changing his phase with the celerity of the devil of our quotation.

The key-stone of this wonderful arch of "constructive" evidence is, however, the assumption that Barnes is depicted and ridiculed in the character of Don Adriano de Armado of the play *Love's Labour's Lost,* produced before the Queen at Christmas, 1597.

Why a dramatist should employ as his devil a person he held in such contempt is not easy to comprehend. The fact that he caricatured him would support the inference that he was not in his service. Had Dr. Creighton established a close parity of style between *Locrine* and the other mentioned plays and the known works of Barnes, his argument could be followed. But this he entirely fails to do. He relies on the construction that "W. S." was Shakespeare, Barnes Don Armado, and therefore Strumbo; therefore the literary devil who wrote *Locrine,* and therefore the author of other plays in that style.

Dr. Creighton is most probably wrong in thinking that Don Adriano de Armado was a hit at Barnes. One of the speeches in *Love's Labour's Lost* begins:—

> "Our court you know is haunted
> With a refined traveller of Spain."

In the same play Holofernes describes Armado as "too peregrinate." Nathaniel remarks, "A most singular and choice epithet." Why was this epithet so pertinent? A little pamphlet by Mr. James supplies the best explanation. England was visited in 1593 by Don Antonio de Perez, a Spanish nobleman and courtier, who seems to have quartered himself upon the English Court and the hospitality of both Bacon and Essex. In 1594 he wrote his *Relaciones*, under the assumed name of Raphael Peregrino, and presented copies to the Queen, to Essex and other courtiers. His style was stilted and extravagant. In 1596 he turned up again at the English Court, and doubtless proved himself a considerable bore. "Too peregrinate" would be a choice epithet to apply to Peregrino.

Is not the "literary devil" constructive evidence a trifle "too peregrinate" also? Certainly it is not strengthened by assuming that Barnes wrote the *Il Candido* sonnets prefixed to Florio's *World of Wordes*, 1598, as the play preceded the book, so that any pleasantry in *Love's Labour's Lost* at the expense of the sonnets has no evidential value. Comparisons would at the best only point to the probability that one and the same person wrote the sonnets and the play; possibly a "concealed poet" was the writer, who, according to Florio, "loved better to be a poet than to be accounted one."

PARKER WOODWARD.

NOTES, QUERIES, AND CORRESPONDENCE

The Fretful Porcupine

THE following paragraph appeared in *T.P's. Weekly*, April 21st, 1905 :—

"THE FRETFUL PORCUPINE." — Mr. R. N. Green-Armytage (Temple, E.C.) writes : In Roscoe's translation of the "Memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini," newly re-published in the Unit Library, there will be found, on page 298, a poem written by that eccentric genius during his imprisonment in 1539. In this poem the following lines occur :

"My hair with horror bristling on my head,
Like quills upon the fretful porcupine."

These lines, with their unique simile, practically re-appear in "Hamlet," Act 1, Scene 5. The coincidence, if it be one, is very remarkable ; yet I have not seen any reference thereto in any of the recent commentaries on Shakespeare. I may mention that Roscoe's translation claims to be faithful to the Italian original. Cellini died in 1570—that is to say, some thirty years before "Hamlet" was written. The main question would therefore seem to be, "Was any part of the Italian Goldsmith's Autobiography published in England prior to the putting forth of 'Hamlet,' or can it be shown that Shakespeare was familiar with the original Italian poem ?" So striking is the seeming plagiarism that I am constrained to submit the problem of its elucidation to your readers.

T.P's. readers have not yet submitted the desired elucidation.

Recent Publications

MR. EDWIN REED has published, through Messrs. Gay and Bird, under the title of "Noteworthy Opinions" (6s.), a collection of comments on the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy. Mr. Reed has included not only those views favourable to Baconians, but some very much the reverse, and here the literary historian will find enshrined the many disgraceful utterances of prominent Shakespeareans. The index seems to be somwhat incomplete; we notice, for instance, that Dr. Furnivall's dicta, though included in the body of the book, are not indexed.

From Mr. A. Siegle, Langham Place, W., we have received "The Quintessence of the Shakespeare Secret" (6d.). This brochure somewhat belies its hopeful title. It is not a quintessence but rather an outline of Mr. Edwin Bormann's aspect of the subject. The writer concludes: "For the sake of brevity I have adduced only the main points of an external nature; further details and countless intrinsic reasons are to be found in the writings of Edwin Bormann." Then follows a list of the writings of Edwin Bormann—and of nobody else! But with all due respect to Mr. Bormann, *there are others*, and the complete omission of any allusion to their works in a pamphlet intended as a guide to elementary readers is an exhibition of literary arrogance.

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Bacon Society Meetings

ON June 15th the last of the present series of Drawing Room Meetings held under the auspices of the Bacon Society took place at the house of Mrs. Smedley, the lecturer being Mr. Granville C. Cunningham. The speakers at preceding meetings, held

at the houses of Mrs. Cunningham, Miss Soutter, and Miss Leith, were Mr. A. P. Sinnett, Mr. Fleming Fulcher, and Miss Alicia A. Leith. It is intended to resume these meetings in the autumn, and those who will be kind enough to lend their drawing-rooms for the purpose are invited to communicate with the Hon. Sec. at No. 11, Hart Street.

On July 8th, at 2.30, at the Empress Rooms, Kensington, Mr. Harold Bayley will address the Federated Congress of the Theosophical Society, under the Presidency of Mrs. Besant, on "Francis Bacon and the New Atlantis."

The Date of Sir Francis Bacon's "Promus"

A CONTRIBUTOR having raised a question as to the dates of the *Promus* being subsequent to the appearance of some of the Plays, Mrs. Pott writes:

You seem to think that I have said somewhere that "the first page of the *Promus* shows that it was begun on December 5th, 1594." I cannot find that I said or wrote so, although I pointed out that the most eminent of Lord Bacon's biographers *did* say so, and certainly a group of Notes is headed with that date; but that group is, I think, the one endorsed "Formularies and Elegancies," and is numbered Fol. 111. The first folio (as arranged in the British Museum) is Folio 83. Folio 111 is short. It is the one which I call the *Romeo and Juliet* Notes, having seventeen entries which recur in that play. It contains only 36 very brief notes, chiefly morning and evening salutations, and is written in the *latest* of three forms of handwriting used by the writer of these notes. I regard this group as the *first* in the *last* group of notes, ending with folio 128, and this on the evidence only of the three handwritings.

1.—The first handwriting which I know of Francis "Bacon," is the free *old* English style, partaking of the German caligraphy, and this is seen in the folios placed first in the collection. It does not hence follow that they *were* the first, for he often reverted in later life to this free hand; and it is the writing in marginal, or extra notes in his much later collection of Private Memoranda—a little vellum book called "Transportata."

2.—But when he was still a mere lad he was, we know, sent abroad, and then he began to adopt the more compact writing

of the French and Italians. At first he wrote this, large and round, like a copy-book. This is the writing of folios 130—132, all *French proverbs*, a collection I suppose made abroad, and afterwards published with additions, by one of his "helpers"—Camden—under the title of "Outlandish Proverbs."

3.—About his 30th year (or earlier) he seems altogether to have adopted the fine and useful neat italic writing of folios 111-128, which I am disposed to regard as the *last* of this *Promus* series—some of the other notes being, I think, certainly as early as 1580 or 1582.

Mr. Churton Collins and Ben Jonson's Aid to Bacon

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

DEAR SIR,—In the scholarly and elegant essay by Mr. Churton Collins, which he calls "The Bacon-Shakespeare Mania," in his "Studies in Shakespeare," he denounces the believers in the Baconian theory in unmeasured terms as a set of ignorant fools or maniacs, and cites their views as an illustration of Bacon's saying that: "Like as many substances in nature which are solid do putrefy and corrupt into worms, so it the property of good and sound knowledge to putrefy and dissolve into a number of subtile, idle, unwholesome, and (as I may term them) vermiculate questions, which have indeed a kind of quickness and life of spirit, but no soundness of matter or goodness of quality."

I find this on page 351: "Equally unwarrantable and baseless are Dr. Webb's assertions about the relations between Ben Jonson and Bacon. 'It is probable,' he says, 'that Jonson assisted Bacon in the preparation of the *Novum Organum*.' It is improbable, and in the highest degree improbable, that Ben Jonson had anything to do with the *Novum Organum*. . . . There is not a particle of evidence that Jonson gave the smallest assistance to Bacon in translating any of his works into Latin." To which is appended this footnote: "Probably the explanation is given by Tenison, BACONIANA, p. 25, namely, that Bacon had assistance in the translation, re-writing, or, at least, carefully revising it himself. The only translator named is Herbert. Hobbes is also said to have assisted him" (sic).

As a matter of fact, Herbert's name is not mentioned on p. 25; but this is immaterial, because on p. 24 occurs this:

"And knowing that this Work was desired beyond the seas and being also aware that Books written in a modern Language, which receiveth much change in a few years, were out of use; he caus'd that part of it which he had written in *English* to be translated into the *Latine* Tongue by Mr. *Herbert*, and some others, who were esteemed Masters in the *Roman* Eloquence."

I will now quote from p. 60 of the same work, Tenison's introduction to BACONIANA:

"To those *Apophthegms* may be referred these now published, the *Essays* or *Counsels Civil and Moral*, though a By-work also, do yet make up a Book of greater weight by far, than the *Apophthegms:* And *coming home to Men's Business and Bosoms*, his Lordship entertain'd this persuation concerning them, that the *Latine Volume might last as long as Books should last.* His Lordship wrote them in the *English* Tongue, and enlarged them as Occasion serv'd, and at last added to them, the *Colours of Good and Evil*, which are likewise found in his Book *De Augmentis.* The *Latin* Translation of them was a Work performed by divers Hands: by those of Doctor *Hacket* (late Bishop of *Lichfield*), Mr. *Benjamin Johnson* (the learned and judicious Poet) and some others, whose names I once heard from Dr. Rawley; but I cannot now recal them."

Comment is unnecessary, especially as Mr. Collins has announced, at the close of his debate with Dr. Theobald, that the subject is distasteful to him.

ISAAC HULL PLATT.

Mr. Pitt-Lewis's "Outline"

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—I have to thank Mr. Pitt-Lewis for having so kindly sent anwers to my questions. I shall await with eager interest his demonstration that the *Parnassus* trilogy was originally written in Greek by Ben Jonson. I think that Mr. Lewis will have some difficulty in showing that Jonson was ever a student at Cambridge. It is true that Fuller says he was at St. John's, and that Aubrey says he was at Trinity. Both are untrustworthy authorities, and both cannot be right. I am confident that both are wrong. Neither Trinity nor St. John's knows anything of him as a student. Jonson himself told Drummond that he was "taken from school and put to a trade," and that the degree which he possessed at each University was "by their favour, not his study." It is incredible that a man like Jonson, if he had been a student at Cambridge, would have made no allusion to the fact either to Drummond or in his voluminous writings. No, it was to Westminster—to "Camden, most reverend head"—that he owed his learning.

I am much obliged to Mr. Pitt-Lewis for referring me to Judge Willis's lecture, which I have possessed since its publication and concerning which I have had a word or two to say in print. But Judge Willis says nothing, either at page lxxviii. or anywhere else, about "Capell College, Cambridge," though he clearly shows how Mr. Pitt-Lewis came to be misled. True he refers to "Capell Coll., Camb.," but this means not "Capell Col-

lege," but the "Capell Collection." Capell, of St. Catherine's Hall, in the year 1779 gave his very valuable collection to Trinity College, Cambridge, and it is now preserved in the library of that College. "This College," says Mr. Pitt-Lewis of his imaginary Capell, "is not so-called now"! There never was such a College! If Mr. Pitt-Lewis is wise he will avoid this mistake in the large work which he is contemplating.

Yours faithfully, CANTAB.

"The New English Dictionary" Again

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—Some time ago you allowed me to show in BACONIANA the injustice meted out to Bacon by the editor of "The New English Dictionary" in quoting Shakespeare and not Bacon for uses of certain words. May I offer you another flagrant example of the treatment?

In part of the P. instalment recently issued, I find under PARTICULARITY, in the sense of "a particular case or instance," that the first use of the word *is* ascribed to Shakespeare—"1593, 2 *Henry VI.*, V. ii. 44—'Now let the general Trumpet blow his blast, Particularities, and pettie sounds To cease.'" Dr. Murray, the editor, can only instance one other use of this obsolete word with the same signification, giving Manwood as his authority (1598).

To show that Bacon's writings have been neglected by the readers for the "New English Dictionary" (it is declared, "on historical principles"), it may interest you to know that in the year (1594) following that of the Shakespearean use (1593) Bacon used the word in the same sense in a letter from Gray's Inn to Mr. Young, where he speaks of "the particularities of the abuse."

It is surely high time that the Editor of the "N. E. D." should divert a small portion of his attention from the Shakespeare Concordance to the Letters of Bacon. *Verb. sap.*

GEORGE STRONACH.

Honorificabilitudine

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—With reference to the Notes in the April and July numbers of BACONIANA, I have "*Io, Barclaii Argenio, Editio novissima Cum Clave, hoc est nominum propriorum elucidatione hactenus nondum edita.*

"*Lugd. Bat. Ex officicima Elzeviriana Anno MDCXXVII.*"

On the inside of cover at the end of the book is written in plain large letters of old handwriting, "Abraham Issacku and Jacobu Honorificabilitudinitatibusque." This variant of the famous long word in *Love's Labour's Lost* and the Northumberland MS. may be nothing more than an attempt by combination to make up an even longer word consisting of 30 letters. Whether it has any significance when found in Barclay's *Argenio* may be worth consideration. J. R., of Gray's Inn.

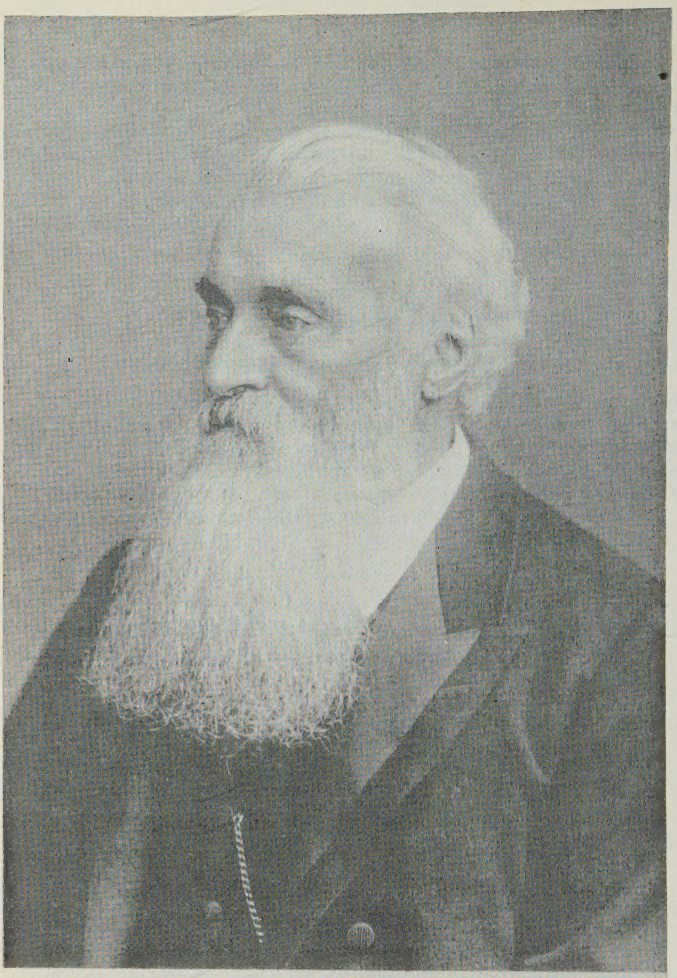
De Shakespeare Nostrat

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—The paragraph in Ben Jonson's *Discoveries*, "De Shakspeare Nostrat: Augustus in Hat" is well known to your contributors. But can one of them refer me to any classic author in whose writings the statement that Augustus said of Haterius "Sufflaminandus erat," may be found? I have failed to find the saying in the *Annals of Tacitus* and in other likely places.

J. R., of Gray's Inn.

A PORTRAIT and BIOGRAPHY of the late Mr. George Cox Bompas will appear in the next number.



George Cox Bompas.

Born April 1st, 1827, Died May 23rd, 1905.